



General Daniel's Gallant Brigade

Brigadier General Junius Daniel's
North Carolina Brigade on July 1

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Brigadier General Junius Daniel and his brigade were relatively new to the Army of Northern Virginia, having been assigned to Major General Robert E. Rodes' division on May 20, 1863. General Daniel and his brigade had not fought in any major battles and were of an unknown quality. However, after the fighting on July 1, 1863, Rodes reported that the conduct of Daniel and his brigade was such as to elicit "the admiration and praise of all who witnessed it."¹

Junius Daniel, the rock-like leader of this brigade, was born on June 27, 1828, at Halifax, North Carolina. He was the third son, and fourth child, of the Honorable John Reeves Jones Daniel and his wife, Martha Elizabeth Long Stith. John R. J. Daniel, born in 1802, had served as a member of the North Carolina House of Commons and as attorney general of North Carolina before being elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-seventh U. S. Congress. He served from March 4, 1841, to March 3, 1853, but he was not a candidate for re-nomination. He moved to a plantation near Shreveport, Louisiana, in 1860.²

An early biographer described Junius Daniel as blessed with a vigorous constitution and giving promise of a great endurance. Daniel's mother, who passed away when he was three years old, taught him to "loathe dishonesty, insincerity, all violence to truth and every form of degrading vice."³

Daniel began his formal education under his grandfather before entering the school of J. M. Lovejoy in Raleigh, North Carolina. He continued in this school until his appointment, at large, to West Point on July 1, 1846. He suffered severe injuries during artillery practice and was unable to graduate with his class in 1850. He did graduate 33rd out of 42 cadets on July 1, 1851. He was breveted a second lieutenant in the 3rd Infantry and posted to Newport Barracks, Kentucky, as the acting assistant quartermaster.⁴

In the pre-Civil War army, an officer was expected to be "brave, intelligent, and courteous." An officer was also to be:

patient, just, and reliable. He should be ambitious of distinction, industrious in acquiring knowledge of his profession, and conscientious in the performance of his duties. He should possess a high sense of honor, a great pride in his peculiar arm of service, and confidence in himself to perform the tasks assigned to him.⁵

Daniel was promoted to second lieutenant on November 10, 1851, and served briefly at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. He spent the next four years in New Mexico Territory engaged mostly in scouting duties against Apache Indians. He was involved in one skirmish on the Penasco River, near the White Mountains, on January 20, 1855. He was promoted to first lieutenant effective May 31, 1857. Daniel spent his time "sedulously" studying his profession and reading various histories on the art of war. He was granted sick leave in 1856 and resigned his commission, effective January 14, 1858. After his resignation Daniel superintended his father's plantation in Louisiana and "succeeded admirably well."⁶

In October 1860, he married Ellen Long, a daughter of John J. Long, Esquire, of Northampton County, North Carolina. Captain William Hammond, adjutant-general on Daniel's staff, wrote that Daniel's devotion to his wife was "matchless ... It was beautiful and touching beyond description." Daniel's only instructions to Hammond, who aided Daniel in writing his will, were to "Let my wife have everything she deserves, more than I can leave her."⁷

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Daniel was offered a commission with Louisiana, but he chose to serve with his native state, North Carolina. He was appointed colonel of the 14th North Carolina Infantry on June 3, 1861. The regiment was brought to a peak of steadiness and efficiency because of Daniel's energy and intelligence. He insisted on the "most thorough and searching police of the camps." The officers and men of the regiment competed with each other "in their steady imitation" of Daniel. It was said that Daniel "poured his own undoubted faith, his personal manliness, his great courage, his complete and perfect loyalty to those set in authority above him" into his regiment.⁸

Colonel Daniel was described as being about five feet ten inches tall and weighing close to 200 pounds, "of the most commanding manner, splendid presence, perfectly self-possessed ... with a voice deep, well trained, powerful in compass." He was considered "the guide of the regiment, their ideal of an officer, and as completely devoted to its comfort, care, and training as if the regiment had been part of his personal fortunes." Daniel's West Point training and U. S. Army service had given him "great advantages over those who had no such training, and especial advantage in taking care of himself and his command -- getting the best of all there was to be had for his command."⁹

As a colonel, Daniel's "peculiar and exclusive duty" was to command his regiment. He could also serve as the commanding officer of "a Brigade, or Division, or Department, President or member of a Court-Martial, or chief of an independent expedition, by special assignment." He was answerable for the government and administration of his regiment. His responsibilities included, but were not limited to, the organization and daily routine of the regiment, instruction in tactics, discipline, and the appointment and reduction of non-commissioned officers. Daniel had to be "conversant with the general duties of Commissary, Quartermaster, Surgeon, and Paymaster, and the system of accountability and record



*Brigadier General Junius Daniel.
Battles and Leaders.*

established by law and regulations, otherwise he cannot properly direct his subordinates in the performance of their duties."¹⁰

The capacity to command was considered "peculiar and exceptional" and required "a distinct talent, and the greater the command, the rarer the talent to exercise it." A colonel, such as Daniel, could find that his thoughts:

give him no rest when his command is slumbering quietly. The responsibility of knowing the aim of his instructions, of planning and directing the execution, the fear of failure, or the loss of an opportunity weigh so heavily upon the mind, as to incapacitate it in a great degree for doing that which it most desires to do.¹¹

The organization of the 14th North Carolina was completed on or about June 6, 1861. The command was ordered to leave North Carolina on June 10, and it established Camp Bragg about two miles from Suffolk, Virginia. On July 9 the regiment set up a new camp, called Camp Ellis, also near Suffolk, where the men pursued "with the energy of novices the arduous and honorable requisites of soldiers and speedily became thoroughly competent in the elements of the calling." The *Raleigh Weekly Standard* reported that Colonel Daniel was "in every respect admirably qualified for his place." The paper also stated that:

On our recent visit we found this regiment, many of whom we know personally, in excellent health, with the exception of some cases of measles. The officers are strict, as they should be, but not tyrannical or harsh. The Colonel, Lt. Colonel, and Major have all received a military education, and the Colonel was for three or four years in active service. They appear to be very well fitted in every respect for their positions.¹²

Brigadier General John C. Pemberton, in command of the 1st Brigade and of Confederate forces in and around Smithfield, Virginia, considered it "absolutely necessary that a stronger force be posted" in his area. He requested Daniel's regiment either be advanced or another regiment sent to him. He understood that Daniel's regiment was to be held in reserve in Suffolk. Pemberton felt that Daniel was "of little or no use to me there, unless to fall back on, which I hope not to be compelled to do."¹³

During this time, Daniel probably had the unique honor of having been elected colonel of three separate North Carolina regiments. He declined the colonelcy of the 43rd North Carolina Infantry "in favor of a promising young officer, who had given decided evidence of ability." He also declined the command of the 2nd North Carolina Cavalry in favor of Colonel Solomon Williams because Williams was "*par excellence* a cavalryman." Daniel did accept command of the 45th North Carolina Infantry upon its organization on April 1, 1862. At about the same time, Major General Theophilus H. Holmes, commanding the Department of North Carolina, recommended Daniel for promotion to brigadier general. Holmes was informed that the secretary of war "was unwilling at this time to increase the number of brigadiers" as there were already two without commands. When told he could have one of these, Holmes allegedly responded, "You can keep your generals; I can get along with my colonels."¹⁴

Daniel, as a colonel, did command the 3rd Brigade of Holmes' department. This brigade consisted of the 43rd, 45th, and 50th North Carolina Infantry and Major Edgar C. Burroughs' battalion of cavalry. On June 29, 1862, Daniel led his brigade, which also included two batteries, from his camp near Petersburg, Virginia. The men crossed the James River on pontoons and went into camp on the Mill road, near New Market Road. The next day, June 30, Daniel's brigade became involved in the battle of Malvern Cliff, or Turkey Bridge. The two batteries were detached, and at least one of them "left the field without proper orders and in great confusion." Daniel's position could be reached from three different directions: the Federal gunboats in the James River, a battery in his front, and another battery that was firing on Major General James Longstreet's command. Daniel ordered his men to lie down in the road, which was worn away, as it provided the best cover from artillery. Burroughs' cavalry, which had also been detached, became confused by this fire and "commenced leaving the field in great disorder" and caused confusion

among Daniel's infantry "by running through their ranks." At different times, Daniel had to rally each of his three regiments because of the artillery fire, the confusion caused by the cavalry's "charge to the rear" and, the artillerists' attempt "to catch up with the fleet-footed cavaliers." Daniel, however, proudly reported that his "three regiments were all new, and under the circumstances behaved well." This would not be the last time Daniel rallied a brigade on the field of battle.¹⁵

A member of the 50th North Carolina remembered seeing Daniel "riding slowly along the line, speaking to and encouraging the men, his horse bleeding profusely from a wound just received." While under a "perfect shower of shot and shell," Daniel was knocked from his horse, and after recovering from the shock, walked to the rear where he secured another horse and returned to his men.¹⁶

The next evening, July 1, Daniel was ordered to march to Drewry's Bluff, which he reached at about 8:30 A.M., July 2. During the month of July, Daniel's brigade was occupied with helping build fortifications in the area of Petersburg, Virginia. Daniel had ordered Lieutenant Colonel William G. Lewis of the 43rd Regiment, who was a civil engineer by profession, to supervise the construction. The 53rd Regiment was sent to Weldon, North Carolina on July 27, and spent most of its time guarding the local railroad bridge. The regiment rejoined Daniel on August 28. The rest of Daniel's brigade moved to Merchant's Hope Church on July 30 to participate in a Confederate attack on the Federal camps and shipping between Shirley and Harrison's Landing. Daniel, with Colonel Van H. Manning's brigade, supported the Confederate artillery while it shelled the Federal camps and gunboats in the James River. Daniel returned to the Drewry's Bluff area by August 1. It was reported that the brigade numbered 125 officers and 1,943 enlisted men for an effective strength of 2,009.¹⁷

Also in the Drewry's Bluff area was Brigadier General James G. Martin's brigade. Martin's brigade consisted of the 11th, 17th, 44th, 47th, and 52nd North Carolina infantry units. The brigade had been ordered to Richmond from North Carolina but had arrived too late to take part in the Seven Days' fighting. They went into camp near Drewry's Bluff. Martin returned to North Carolina, taking the 17th North Carolina with him, to complete his duties as the state's adjutant-general. The 17th was replaced with the 26th North Carolina. After Martin left, Daniel was apparently placed in command of Martin's brigade, along with his own. On August 11, 1862, Brigadier General James J. Pettigrew was assigned to the command "of the brigade now commanded by Col. Junius Daniel" [Martin's brigade]. Daniel remained in command of his old brigade.¹⁸

When rumors spread that he might lose command of his own brigade, Daniel allegedly stated unselfishly:

I would certainly dislike to give up the command of these troops after having the trouble of training them and having become so attached to them. I don't seek the distinction of rank for position merely, for if the war were to close to-morrow the offer of the highest could not induce me to remain in the army. I have other obligations to fulfill, but whilst the war lasts, here in the field I will be found. My whole soul is in the cause, and my life is at my country's service. If the Government does not choose to give me command of my brigade, I will stick to my regiment and make no complaint.¹⁹

During the early part of September 1862, Major General Samuel G. French, Confederate States of America, organized a brief demonstration against Federal forces around Suffolk, Virginia. Daniel took "two of his best regiments," the 43rd and 45th, and "a fine battery" with him on this expedition. He was ordered to return to the Drewry's Bluff area "as soon as the expedition is over."²⁰

Daniel received promotion to brigadier general on September 30, 1862, with a date of rank of September 1. By September 25, 1862, Daniel's brigade consisted of the 32nd, 43rd, 45th, 50th, and 53rd North Carolina infantry units and the 2nd North Carolina Battalion. During the next several months, the brigade was "thoroughly drilled and attained as high a state of efficiency and discipline as any brigade in the Confederate army." Daniel was described as "a good organizer and a strict disciplinarian, but always looked after the wants and comfort of his men."²¹

In the U. S. Army prior to the Civil War, a brigadier general had, by law, no special duties. A brigade commander "is a subordinate, and has definite orders to execute, and cannot go astray, except through neglect or incapacity ... The administration of a Brigade or Division in an Army is nothing more than that of the Regiment expanded." A brigadier general was entitled to two aides-de-camp to be selected by him. Any other brigade staff "that he may have remain with the command to which they belong, and are not changed except by the proper authority."²²

Three of the four members of the brigade staff had served with Daniel in the 45th North Carolina and two had been members of the 14th North Carolina. William May Hammond, from Wadsworth, North Carolina, was born on August 25, 1837. He enlisted as a lieutenant in the 14th North Carolina and was appointed the adjutant of the 45th North Carolina on June 2, 1862. He served on Daniel's staff during the Seven Days' campaign before being named the brigade's assistant adjutant general and chief of staff with the rank of captain on October 2, 1862. He was described as "a splendid officer" who was "attentive to duty and always to the front when there was any fighting going on."²³

James Nicolson Edmondston, born in 1831, had lived in New Mexico and in Raleigh, North Carolina. He served on ordnance duty in North Carolina under General Martin in the early part of the war. On May 9, 1862, he was promoted to major and assigned to Daniel's brigade as quartermaster. He was a fine officer and managed the Quartermaster Department well. It was said that Daniel "had less trouble with his wagon train than most of our Generals."²⁴

Richard Cogsdell Badger was born at Raleigh, North Carolina on August 8, 1839. He practiced law in Wake County after graduating from the University of North Carolina in 1859. In 1860, he was elected county attorney for Wake County. After serving as the sergeant major of the 14th North Carolina he was promoted to captain on June 2, 1862, and served as the assistant commissary of subsistence for the 45th North Carolina. He was a volunteer aide-de-camp to Daniel during the Seven Days' campaign. On July 15, 1862, he was promoted to major when he became the brigade's commissary of subsistence. He must have made a good one, for it was reported that, "if any of the brigades had anything to eat, Badger had his share for his brigade."²⁵

Thomas McGehee Smith enlisted as a captain in the 45th North Carolina at the age of 28 on March 18, 1862. In the spring of 1863, he was the acting inspector general for the brigade and was promoted to major on or about June 26, 1863.²⁶

Daniel's one aide at this time was William Robert Bond. Bond had been born in Halifax County, North Carolina, on August 20, 1839, and had attended the University of North Carolina. He enlisted as a private in the 12th North Carolina in May 1861 and was appointed a third lieutenant in the 43rd in February 1862. He served as a volunteer aide-de-camp to Daniel in June 1862, without rank. He was appointed to Daniel's staff on September 1, 1862, but remained on the roster of the 43rd until March 1, 1863. Bond was "very popular with the brigade, as he was always courteous and polite, as well as a very gallant soldier."²⁷

In his report of the engagement at Malvern Cliff, or Turkey Bend, on June 30, 1862, Daniel praised Edmondston, Badger, Hammond, and Bond as behaving "with coolness and bravery, and were of great assistance to me."²⁸

The 32nd North Carolina did not complete its organization until July 1862. Six of the ten companies had been attached to Major General Benjamin Huger's command and were stationed at Drewry's Bluff. When finally organized, Colonel Edmund Crey Brabble commanded the regiment. Born in Tyrrell County, North Carolina, on January 5, 1835, Brabble was valedictorian of his Dartmouth class in 1857. Brabble had originally served as captain of Company A, had been elected major on November 29, 1861, and had been elected colonel on March 17, 1862. Brabble was described as a "strict disciplinarian, yet humane and very considerate of the comfort of his men, so that they all implicitly obeyed his orders and had entire confidence in him, and in the midst of battle were under perfect control."²⁹

In September 1862, Company C was detailed for special service in Richmond, Virginia and remained there through October 1863.³⁰

The 43rd North Carolina had been organized in March 1862. Daniel had been elected colonel, but he declined in order to accept command of the 45th. The command then devolved upon Lieutenant

Colonel Thomas Stephens Kenan. Kenan, born February 12, 1838, in Duplin County, graduated from the University of North Carolina and entered law practice. Kenan had served as captain of Company A until elected lieutenant colonel on March 24, 1862. He was promoted to colonel on or about April 21, 1862. The regiment was first stationed at Fort Johnson, in Smithville, North Carolina, in the command of Brigadier General Samuel French. In May 1862, the 43rd, along with the 45th and 50th North Carolina, were transferred to Virginia and were brigaded under Daniel.³¹

The 45th North Carolina had been organized by April 1, 1862, under the command of Colonel Junius Daniel. The regiment was detailed for picket duty at Weldon, North Carolina, where it stayed for about a month. In May of 1862, the regiment, along with the 43rd and 50th North Carolina (Daniel's brigade), was transferred to Richmond and was stationed at Drewry's Bluff on the James River. Upon Daniel's promotion to brigadier-general, Lieutenant Colonel John Henry Morehead was promoted to colonel to rank from September 1, 1862. Morehead, born December 11, 1833 in Guilford County, North Carolina, had attended the University of North Carolina but graduated in 1853 from Princeton University. He had originally served as a captain in the 2nd North Carolina before being elected lieutenant colonel of the 45th on April 3, 1862. From the time the regiment was organized, until its transfer to Virginia, the "men were drilled almost incessantly. They were upon the drill ground upon an average from six to eight hours each day."³²

Company G was detached from the regiment and ordered to report to Colonel Henry Harrison Walker, commanding the Richmond city guard, in September-October 1862 and formed part of the night police. They were barracked in several locations in and around the city, and by May 1863 they were stationed at Belle Island.³³

The 50th North Carolina Infantry was organized at Camp Mangum, near Raleigh on or about April 15, 1862. The regiment, originally issued pikes, was drilled for about six weeks under the command of Colonel Marshall D. Craton. Craton, from Wayne County, North Carolina, was a physician who had served as lieutenant colonel of the 35th North Carolina before being named colonel of the 50th on April 15, 1862. The regiment was finally issued muskets on June 1 and assigned to Daniel's brigade. Colonel Craton resigned on November 25, 1862, due to chronic diarrhea and dysentery. Lieutenant Colonel James A. Washington was appointed to replace Craton.³⁴

James Augustus Washington was born in Wayne County, North Carolina on March 8, 1832. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1851 and attended Wake Forest. Washington, a Goldsboro merchant, originally served as a captain in the 2nd North Carolina before being named lieutenant colonel of the 50th on April 15, 1862. He was appointed colonel effective December 1, 1862.³⁵

The 53rd North Carolina was organized in June of 1862 and shortly afterwards was sent to Richmond and was stationed on the south side of the James River. The regiment was under the command of Colonel William Allison Owens. Owens was born in Charlotte, North Carolina on September 19, 1833, and graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1856. He had previously served as a captain in the 1st North Carolina, major of the 34th North Carolina, and lieutenant colonel of the 11th North Carolina before being named colonel of the 53rd on May 6, 1862. Owens was remembered as "a good officer, brave, humane, social, popular with both men and officers." Between July 27 and August 28, the regiment was detached from Daniel's brigade for service in and around Weldon, North Carolina. The regimental history states that the 53rd was similar to every other North Carolina regiment. It "was never known to shirk a duty; never refused to advance when ordered; never known to retire without command."³⁶

Wharton J. Green originally organized the 2nd North Carolina Battalion at Richmond, Virginia. Green had received authority to raise a regiment for Brigadier General Henry A. Wise's Legion, to be known as Colonel Green's Independent Regiment. The companies were organized into a battalion on or about November 15, 1861. The battalion never had more than eight companies, and not all of them were from North Carolina. One company was made up of Virginians, and two were composed of Georgians. On February 1, 1862, the battalion was ordered to Roanoke Island, North Carolina, where, after a brief engagement on February 9, the battalion was surrendered, and the soldiers paroled at Elizabeth City. The men were declared exchanged on August 18, 1862, and the officers and men were ordered to report to Drewry's Bluff. There the battalion was reorganized on September 25, 1862, and assigned to Daniel's

brigade. Company C, made up of Virginians, was transferred by Special Order Number 268 of November 15, 1862, to become Company G of the 59th Virginia.³⁷

The battalion's original commander, Wharton J. Green, was born in St. Marks, Florida, on February 28, 1831. Private tutors instructed him before he attended Georgetown College, Lovejoy's Academy (in Raleigh, North Carolina), and West Point. He studied law at the University of Virginia and Cumberland University (in Lebanon, Tennessee) before being admitted to the bar and commencing practice in Washington, D.C. He began agricultural pursuits in 1859 in Warren County, North Carolina. He had served as a private in the 12th North Carolina until he was approached by Brigadier General Henry A. Wise to raise an independent regiment. He was appointed a lieutenant colonel on December 24, 1861, but was not reelected at the reorganization of the battalion at Drewry's Bluff. After January 1, 1863, he served as a volunteer aide-de-camp on the staff of General Daniel.³⁸

Green's successor, Charles E. Sober, was born in Salem, North Carolina, about 1838, graduated from the University of North Carolina, and practiced the profession of law. He had originally served as a captain and major of the 45th North Carolina. He resigned from this regiment on January 30, 1863, to accept appointment as lieutenant colonel of the 2nd Battalion. His rank was backdated to October 1, 1862.³⁹

Major General John G. Foster, U. S. Army, began an expedition from New Berne, North Carolina, on November 1, for the purpose of disrupting Confederate attempts at foraging and "obtaining conscripts." Foster hoped to "engage and capture this force" and then to advance on and capture Hamilton, North Carolina. Forces from the Richmond defenses were requested to aid Major General Samuel G. French in covering the "withdrawal of supplies and negroes." Daniel's brigade had apparently been requested for this assignment. However, Daniel's immediate commander, Major General G. W. Smith, wrote that Daniel could not be sent from Drewry's Bluff to Weldon, North Carolina. Smith also felt that he could not only not send any troops to North Carolina but that he required "here for the defense of this city [Richmond] against a sudden attack by way of James River at least a division in addition to the force now here."⁴⁰

On December 11, 1862, Foster commenced another expedition from New Berne; this one aimed at Goldsborough, North Carolina. This expedition was also intended to coincide with Major General Ambrose E. Burnside's move on Fredericksburg, Virginia. In response to this threat, Confederate authorities ordered units from the Richmond defenses to Goldsborough. Three "select" regiments from Daniel's brigade, the 43rd, 45th and 53rd, about 1,625 officers and men, were ordered to march to Petersburg and there take the railroad to Goldsborough. Daniel was to provide these regiments with five days' rations.⁴¹

The regiments arrived in Goldsborough on December 18, the day after Foster's forces had burned the southern and eastern faces of the Goldsborough Railroad Bridge over the Neuse River. The 43rd and 45th regiments helped to rebuild the bridge under the supervision of Lieutenant Colonel William Gaston Lewis, of the 43rd.⁴²

The remainder of Daniel's brigade, the 32nd and 50th, and the 2nd North Carolina Battalion, were also ordered to North Carolina on December 31, and arrived in Goldsborough on January 3, 1863. By the end of January, Daniel's force consisted of 176 officers and 2,969 men with an aggregate strength, present and absent, of 4,624. This figure also included six pieces of field artillery.⁴³

On February 25, Major General Daniel Harvey Hill assumed command of Confederate forces in North Carolina. On March 6, Hill led his forces in a demonstration against Kinston. This expedition was intended to help protect Confederate commissary trains while they were gathering needed supplies from southern Virginia and eastern North Carolina. The next day, March 7, the 43rd and 45th were involved in skirmishes along or near Core Creek. Two companies from the 45th had been placed on picket duty on the lower Trent road about twenty miles from supports. Major John R. Winston, commanding the picket post, resisted an attack by two infantry regiments until he was almost surrounded. He fell back slowly and in good order to a strong position about four miles to the rear. Four companies of the 43rd under Major Walter J. Boggan were attacked along Core Creek. A Union regiment tried to cross the creek but was

repulsed and driven back. Daniel reported that both officers stated that their units acted well, with coolness, bravery, and gallantry.⁴⁴

The reports of the Federal commanders painted a slightly different picture. Three companies of the 25th Massachusetts Infantry and one company of the 3rd New York Cavalry, about 220 men, had attacked the 45th shortly after midnight on March 7. The cavalry charged after being fired on by Confederate pickets and were followed by the infantry at the double quick. Following a sharp skirmish at the Confederate camp, "the rebels were routed and pursued for some distance." The Federal troops returned to the camp, which they burned, "destroying twelve tents, several log barracks, a large number of new knapsacks, arms, equipments, blankets, several boxes of new clothing, and in fact everything left by the rebels in their hasty departure."⁴⁵

About 500 men from the 58th Pennsylvania and a small detachment from the 3rd New York Cavalry had attacked the 43rd at about 2 A.M. The Pennsylvanians forced a passage over Core Creek at the Dover road. They opened with "a heavy fire on the crest of the breastwork which defended the crossing, while a party rushed over the single string-piece, a round log, which remained on the bridge." The 43rd "fired sharply at first, but their fire was soon silenced." The 43rd then feigned surrender and "on the consequent cessation of our fire, they took the opportunity to retire under cover of the darkness." The Federal troops went on to capture the camp of the 43rd, which contained "rough shelter, blankets, knapsacks, spare clothing, &., the blankets, &., being good and new." Colonel J. Richter Jones, 58th Pennsylvania, did admit that the troops he had encountered were "a different class of troops from those I have hitherto met, contesting successively every strong position and giving way only to my superior numbers."⁴⁶

Hill commenced an expedition against New Berne on March 8. Hill accompanied Daniel's brigade along the lower Trent road and sent two other brigades to attack the town from two different directions. On March 13, Daniel's men drove Federal defenders to their first line of works at Deep Gully, about eight miles from New Berne. Hill described this as "a very strong position naturally, and strengthened by earthworks." At the time four companies from the 25th Massachusetts Infantry and a portion of the 3rd New York Cavalry defended the position. Daniel personally led four companies of the 50th North Carolina in a charge and captured the position. At daylight the next day there was "a feeble attempt at a recapture." The attacks by the other brigades had been stopped, and as there were three shorter roads to Kinston, Hill decided to fall back on March 16. Hill reported that "Foster [he probably means Daniel] ought to be ashamed of letting one brigade run him into his rat-hole."⁴⁷

Daniel wrote to Hill on March 27, from Blount Hall, that he had been shown a map of the proposed works along the Contentnea Creek and would send an officer and working party "to execute it." He did complain about a lack of shovels and picks to do the work. He also reported that Colonel James A. Washington, 50th North Carolina, had taken a position on Core Creek on March 23. Washington had found it impossible to cross his two pieces of artillery and sent two companies of infantry, along with Major John H. Nethercutt's 8th Battalion of North Carolina cavalry, across the creek to drive in the Union pickets. Washington then opened with his artillery and "by felling trees and other noise made a demonstration of building the bridge and crossing in force." Washington withdrew from Core Creek around nightfall.⁴⁸

Hill attempted to lay siege to Washington, North Carolina, between March 30 and April 20. Daniel was ordered to march his entire force to Yankee Hall on the Tar River, seven miles above Washington. Daniel reported that he would start this move on April 1, with the 43rd and 53rd, and Colonel E. C. Brabble, with the 32nd, would move with the rest of the brigade.⁴⁹

Captain William May Hammond, the brigade's assistant adjutant general, was transferred to inspection duty on April 2, 1862, due to poor health. He reported back to the brigade some time prior to the start of the summer campaign.⁵⁰

On May 7, Daniel, along with Brigadier General Robert Ransom, Jr.'s brigade, was sent to feel the enemy about Core Creek. Hill reported that Foster "has shown no disposition to give a field fight, though the most insinuating methods were used by General Daniel to coax him on."⁵¹

Daniel wrote to Hill on May 12 that the Federal picket posts were located "some 6 or 7 miles below Core Creek" and that they had not "relaid the track torn up 4 miles below Core Creek." Daniel was also "very much grieved to hear of the death of General [Thomas "Stonewall"] Jackson, and think that our victory was a dearly-bought one." Daniel, on a more personal note, was obliged to Hill,

for your kind offer to relieve me by General Cooke, and if everything is quiet here I would like very much to go home for a week or ten days, as my health is poor and I have some business, giving in my taxes, &., which can only be done by myself, as I am the only male member of my family in the State; and as I have paid no attention to my affairs in more than two years I would not be able to do so without an examination. I will be in a mile or two of the telegraph office in Weldon and could return any day should anything occur.⁵²

The "anything" happened on May 16 when Daniel was ordered to take his brigade to Richmond. He reported that two regiments would be ready to leave by 10 A.M. The other regiments would move "so soon as transportation can be furnished." Daniel noted that the two regiments would have been ready sooner "but all except one were on picket duty at the time the order was received." On May 20, Daniel's brigade joined the Army of Northern Virginia and was assigned to Major General Robert E. Rodes' division, 2nd Army Corps, under the command of Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell.⁵³

Rodes' division consisted of Daniel's brigade and the brigades of brigadier generals Alfred Iverson, Stephen D. Ramseur, George Doles, and Colonel Edward A. O'Neal. The division also had an artillery battalion of four batteries commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Carter. The division numbered 7,983 officers and men. Daniel's brigade numbered 2,162 officers and men, making his brigade the fourth largest in the Army of Northern Virginia.⁵⁴

Several changes occurred within the brigade before the spring campaign. The 50th North Carolina was ordered to remain at Kinston and was later transferred to the brigade of Brigadier General James G. Martin and lost to Daniel. Lieutenant Colonel Sober, 2nd North Carolina Battalion, resigned on June 6 due to "asthma."⁵⁵

Daniel's brigade left Grace Church with Rodes' division and encamped three miles beyond Culpepper Court House on June 7. On June 9, Daniel was ordered to support Major General J.E.B. Stuart at Brandy Station. As he approached the station, Daniel was ordered by both Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell and General Robert E. Lee to proceed to the station and report to Brigadier General Wade Hampton. Hampton placed Daniel in line of battle about one mile in advance of the station. Ewell then ordered Daniel to advance skirmishers and to move his line about one and one-half miles to the rear. After shifting position several times, Daniel called in his skirmishers at about 5 P.M. and went into camp.⁵⁶

Daniel left camp the next day; reached Front Royal, Virginia, on June 12; crossed the Shenandoah River; and took the road to Berryville, (West)Virginia, via Millwood. Daniel's brigade was leading the division when his advance guard made contact with U. S. cavalry just outside Millwood, which retired upon his approach. Berryville was occupied the next day. Daniel was ordered to try to block the Federal retreat route by the Winchester pike. When he found the Federal works abandoned, he was ordered by Rodes to move to the Martinsburg pike and reached the area of Martinsburg after dark on June 14.⁵⁷

Daniel's brigade, on this day, had been placed in charge of the division wagon train. In response to the Federal cavalry showing "some activity during the march," Daniel had been ordered to place one regiment at the head of the train and one in the rear, and the other regiments were spread along the train. Daniel wrote that the "train being several miles in length, my command was much separated." As he advanced to within three miles of Martinsburg, an officer approached Daniel from Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Carter's artillery battalion, reporting that Carter was firing on the Federal troops but needed infantry support. Daniel ordered the 53rd to Carter's support and sent a staff officer to bring the regiments from the rear and with the 43rd, proceeded to the front. Daniel found that the Federal garrison had left and also received orders from Rodes to return and go into camp at Big Springs.⁵⁸

The next day Daniel marched toward Williamsport, Maryland, crossed the Potomac River on June 17, went into camp on the Sharpsburg road, and arrived in Hagerstown on June 19. Rodes wrote that his divisions' "march was directed toward Boonsborough, as if threatening Harper's Ferry, and halted about 2 miles from Hagerstown, on the Boonsborough road."⁵⁹

So far, Rodes was proud of his men and their march north. He related that the march had been:

... an extremely rapid one, was executed in a manner highly creditable to the officers and men of the division. A halt at Williamsport was absolutely necessary from the condition of the feet of the unshod men. Very many of these gallant fellows were still marching in ranks, with feet bruised, bleeding, and swollen, and withal so cheerfully as to entitle them to be called the heroes of the Pennsylvania campaign. None but the best soldiers could have made such a march under such circumstances.⁶⁰

While in Hagerstown, Major Hezekiah L. Andrews was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 2nd North Carolina Battalion. Andrews, from Randolph County, was originally appointed as the captain of Company F, at the age of 22. He was made a prisoner of war at Roanoke Island in February of 1862 and was promoted to major on October 1, 1862.⁶¹

On June 22, Daniel marched to Greencastle, Pennsylvania, and reached Chambersburg "about the middle of the day" two days later, June 24. Daniel's stay in Chambersburg was brief. At midnight, June 25, Daniel received orders to move to Shippensburg to support Brigadier General Albert Jenkins' cavalry. After calling in his brigade from picket duty, he marched at 1 A.M., June 25, and reached Shippensburg at about 5 A.M. The rest of Rodes' division reached Shippensburg on June 26.⁶²

This day, June 26, also marked a change of command for another of Daniel's regiments. Colonel John Henry Morehead, 45th Regiment, died of "typhoid fever" at Martinsburg. Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Hill Boyd replaced him. Boyd, born in Rockingham County, North Carolina, was 28 years old when he became a captain in the 45th Regiment. He was a merchant by occupation and was reported to have stood six feet, four inches tall. He was named lieutenant colonel on January 31, 1863 and was promoted to colonel on June 26.⁶³



*Lt. Col. Samuel H. Boyd.
Clark, North Carolina
Regiments*

The 53rd Regiment was appointed the provost guard when the brigade reached Carlisle on the evening of June 27 but was relieved by a regiment from Brigadier General Doles' brigade. The rest of the brigade (along with Iverson and Ramseur) occupied the U. S. Army barracks. A special ceremony was held on the grounds of the barracks where the 32nd North Carolina was presented the first issue of the new second national flag. This flag, based on the legislation passed by the Confederate Congress in May 1863, was a white field with the Confederate battle flag as the canton. The flag presented to the 32nd had been made by the ladies of Richmond and sent to General Lee to be presented "to the regiment most worthy of receiving and carrying it." Lee sent the flag to Richard Ewell, who passed it on to the Rodes, Ewell's favorite division commander, who passed it on to Daniel, who presented it to Colonel Brabble of the 32nd. The ceremony was held "with much speech-making and enthusiastic rejoicings."⁶⁴

Many of the Confederate soldiers wrote home about their march through Pennsylvania and their impressions of the local population. A lieutenant in the 53rd Regiment wrote:

the People ... looked mad at us as [is] usual in this Country. this a fine Country the fields all covered with the finest Wheat I ever saw. Clover, Herds [,] grass, Oats, Corn & &.

this is a thickly settled Country, and a bondance of little Towns. The building's is of brick & Stone chiefly. The growth is Oak, Hickory, & Black Walnut. And the People Ginerly Ugly.⁶⁵

An officer in the 32nd also noted:

Large supplies of cattle, horses, grain and flour were obtained at Carlisle and on the march to that place, but no private property of the citizens was forcibly taken.⁶⁶

A well-pleased General Rodes confirmed some of these sentiments when he reported:

The conduct of the troops of this division ... challenged the admiration of their commanding officers, while it astonished the people along the line of march. These later very generally expected to be treated by us with the wanton cruelty generally exhibited by their troops when they are upon our soil. ... Large supplies of cattle, horses, and flour were obtained here and on the march, and in the barracks' stables a large quantity of grain was found. Most of the Government property, excepting the grain, had been removed by the enemy, but musketoons, holsters, tents, and a small quantity of subsistence stores were found in the barracks.⁶⁷

Ewell, Rodes, Daniel, and the men of their commands expected to move on to Harrisburg, which "was contemplated with eagerness." However, "having received orders to move toward the balance of the army, then supposed to be at or near Cashtown, we set out for that place, marching through Petersburg [now York Springs], and bivouacking at Heidlersburg, after a march of at least 22 miles."⁶⁸

Shortly after sunrise on July 1, Rodes began his march west from Heidlersburg to Cashtown via Middletown [now Biglerville]. Ewell learned at about 9 A.M. that Lieutenant General A. P. Hill, commanding the 3rd Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, was advancing from Cashtown to Gettysburg. Ewell, exercising the discretion given him by Lee, ordered his divisions to Gettysburg as well. Rodes turned at Middletown onto the road from Carlisle to Gettysburg. Neither Rodes nor any other officer left a description of the divisions' order of march. Colonel Edward A. O'Neal's brigade was conceivably in the lead, followed by Brigadier General Alfred Iverson. The four batteries of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Carter's artillery battalion were next, followed by Brigadier General George Doles and Daniel's brigade. The brigade of Brigadier General Stephen D. Ramseur followed the division trains. The march from Middletown to Gettysburg was about seven miles and would have taken approximately three to four hours.⁶⁹

Ewell received a message from Lee that he "did not want a general engagement brought on till the rest of the army came up." At about the same time Hill informed Ewell that he "had already been warmly engaged with a large body of the enemy in his front." Despite this information, no one in Ewell's corps seems to have anticipated a *major* engagement when the corps turned toward Gettysburg. About four miles from Gettysburg, Rodes was surprised "by the sound of a sharp cannonade" which revealed the presence of the enemy, and "instant preparations for battle were made."⁷⁰

The Carlisle road intersects with the Herr Ridge road near the summit of Keckler's Hill, which is approximately two and one-half miles from Gettysburg. Rodes believed that "by keeping along the wooded ridge ... I could strike the force of the enemy with which General Hill's troops were engaged upon the flank, and that, besides moving under cover, whenever we struck the enemy we could engage him with the advantage in ground."⁷¹

Rodes moved his division along the summit of Oak Hill, deploying only one brigade, probably O'Neal's, at first. He soon encountered cavalry videttes from Colonel Thomas C. Devin's brigade of Brigadier General John Buford's 1st (Cavalry) Division. When Rodes realized that "the enemy's cavalry had discovered us and the ground was of such character as to admit of cover for a large opposing force,"

he deployed Doles' brigade to the left of O'Neal and Iverson's brigades to the right. Carter's artillery battalion and the brigades of Daniel and Ramseur "moved up closely to the line of battle."⁷²

Daniel reported that his brigade arrived within two and one-half miles of Gettysburg by noon. He was ordered "to turn to the right, and follow the trail of the troops that had preceded me." After moving about three-quarters of a mile, Daniel received orders to form his brigade about 200 yards in the rear of Iverson and to place his left wing in rear of Iverson's right wing. Daniel was also told that O'Neal "was on the same line with myself, and would support General Iverson on the left." Daniel's only regret at this time "was that some of his regiments were not better trained, more thorough seasoned, and that some, perhaps many of them, would not survive the action."⁷³

The 12th North Carolina, Iverson's right regiment, was opposite the Nicholas Hoffman farm buildings, on the north side of the Mummasburg road and about 1,500 feet northwest of the John Forney farm buildings. Daniel's two left regiments would therefore have been behind this regiment. His line length would have extended almost 1,400 feet into the open fields west of the Hoffman farm, and his right would have been near the Samuel Hartzell Farm, Herr's Ridge Road, and perhaps the brigade skirmishers of Brigadier General Joseph R. Davis, of Hill's corps.⁷⁴

While the infantry was moving into position, Rodes deployed Lieutenant Colonel Carter's artillery battalion. Carter ordered Captain W. P. Carter's King William Artillery and Captain C. W. Fry's Orange Artillery "to a high point in front of Rodes' lines, near the Cashtown turnpike, [actually the Mummasburg Road] to enfilade the enemy's lines." These batteries fired on Colonel Roy Stone's 2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 1st Corps along the Chambersburg pike and troops posted in Herbst's Woods. Batteries from the Federal 1st Corps Artillery Brigade responded to this fire and endangered Daniel's line. Daniel ordered his men to lie down to avoid the fire. Wharton J. Green, one of Daniel's aides-de-camp, later wrote that while he and Daniel were standing in front of the 2nd Battalion, "a shell exploded in a few feet of the left killing and wounding nine men."⁷⁵

One of the wounded men in the 2nd Battalion may have been Lieutenant Colonel Andrews. Andrews had been "wounded by a fragment of shell in the hip, refused to quit his post and seek medical aid when urged by his adjutant." Despite this wound, Andrews continued to command the battalion when Daniel ordered his brigade forward.⁷⁶

Rodes reported that before all of his dispositions had been made, large bodies of Federal troops began to appear on his front. This was probably Brigadier General John C. Robinson's 2nd Division, 1st Corps, and Brigadier General Lysander Cutler's 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, that were seen deploying along the crest of Oak Ridge and in Shead's Woods. Rodes described these troops as occupying "the woods on the summit of the same ridge I occupied." Rodes also observed the approach of the 11th Corps advancing from the town. Rodes deployed Doles' brigade to hold the 11th Corps "at bay" and "determined to attack with my center and right" the forces along Oak Ridge.⁷⁷

Rodes' division was deployed in the following manner: Doles' brigade "occupied the open plain between the Middletown road and the foot of the ridge," O'Neal's brigade "with a wide interval between it and Doles' extended from this plain up the slope of the ridge," Daniel's brigade was in support of Iverson, and Ramseur was in reserve. O'Neal placed the left of his brigade near the McLean farm at the base of Oak Hill.⁷⁸

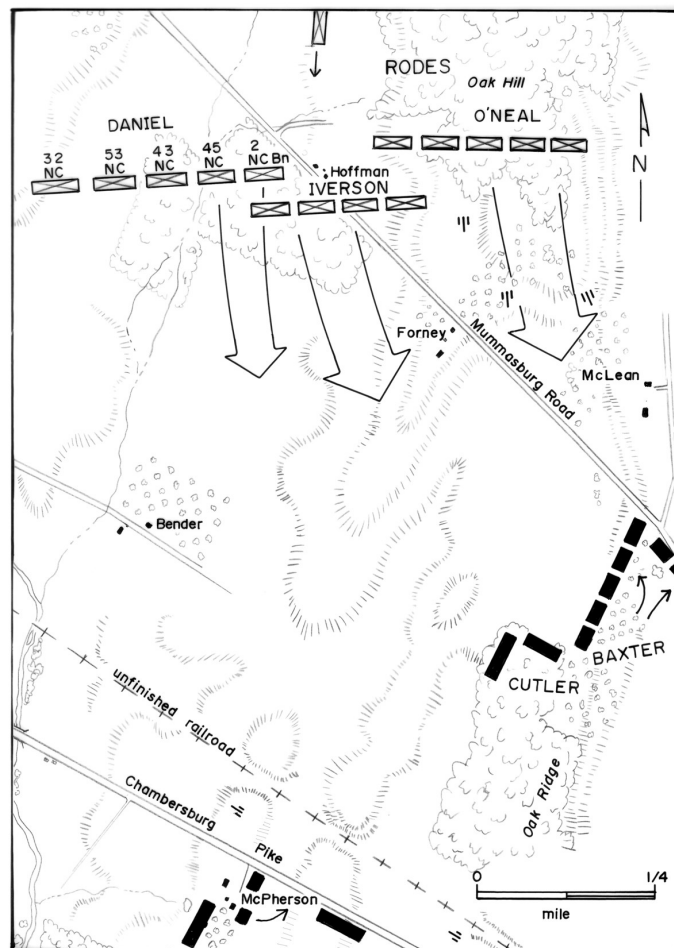
The Federal artillery fire "became so annoying" that Rodes ordered O'Neal "to fall back abreast with Iverson." Rodes wrote that he ordered Colonel Cullen A. Battle, 3rd Alabama, O'Neal's brigade, "placed on a line with Daniel's brigade, Colonel O'Neal being instructed to form the balance of the brigade upon it." It appears from Rodes' report that O'Neal was to place the 3rd Alabama *on the same line* as Daniel's brigade and then form the rest of the brigade on the 3rd Alabama. Instead, O'Neal ordered the 3rd Alabama to "*connect*" with Daniel's brigade. This misunderstanding would lead to serious consequences for O'Neal and Iverson, once the attack commenced, and forced Daniel to change his direction of advance.⁷⁹

Rodes "caused" Iverson's brigade to advance and "at the same moment" gave O'Neal the order to attack and indicated "precisely the point to which he was to direct the left of the four regiments under his orders." Rodes had detached the 5th Alabama to help protect the gap between O'Neal's left and Doles'

brigade and was unaware that O'Neal had detached the 3rd Alabama. Daniel was ordered to support Iverson "if necessary; if not, to attack on his right as soon as possible."⁸⁰

O'Neal apparently advanced before Iverson was ready. Three of O'Neal's five regiments advanced "with alacrity" but in some confusion and not in accordance with Rodes' orders "as to direction." Rodes discovered that O'Neal had chosen to stay with his reserve regiment, the 5th Alabama, rather than "personally superintending the movements of his brigade." Brigadier General Henry Baxter's 2nd Brigade of Robinson's division was able to repulse O'Neal "quickly, and with loss."⁸¹

Iverson advanced his brigade just before O'Neal was repulsed. Iverson, like O'Neal, chose not to advance with his brigade. He did notify Daniel that he was about to advance. It is not clear what direction Rodes had intended Iverson to take. It could be that Rodes wanted Iverson to advance against Cutler's brigade in Shead's Woods while O'Neal attacked Baxter. Instead, when Iverson's brigade did begin to move from Oak Hill, it made a left wheel after crossing the Mummasburg road, aligned along the crest of Forney's Ridge, and advanced directly against that portion of Oak Ridge between Shead's Woods and the Mummasburg road. It may be that the regimental officers believed O'Neal was attacking the front of the Federal line, and they would be attacking on the flank. Baxter was able to drive back O'Neal, reform his line and, in conjunction with Cutler's brigade, fire on Iverson's brigade at close range. Iverson reported that he asked Daniel for support when Daniel "came up to my position." Daniel, according to Iverson, "promised to send me a large regiment."⁸²



*Approximately 1:30 P.M. Iverson and O'Neal move against the 1st Corps' right flank.
Map by John Heiser.*

Daniel, in his official report, left no record of his regiment's alignment. Captain J. A. Hopkins, 45th, reported that his regiment was on the right of the 2nd Battalion and that the 43rd, 53rd, and 32nd were on his right. Daniel had been in position for about an hour and a half when Iverson began his advance. Daniel reported that once Iverson "reached the open field a short distance in his front, he changed his line of direction considerably to his left" and unmasked Daniel's left wing. Daniel, who had received no notice of this change, allowed his line to continue forward "and rode to the front to reconnoiter." Through the battle smoke and confusion, Daniel soon discovered that he not only had to attack Oak Ridge in order to support Iverson, but he would also have to attack Colonel Roy Stone's brigade posted along the Chambersburg pike. If Daniel had only attacked Oak Ridge he would have been subject to enfilade fire from Stone's brigade and 1st Corps artillery units. If he had attacked Stone he would have been subject to enfilade fire from Oak Ridge. Daniel therefore had to divide his brigade and attack both positions simultaneously.⁸³

At this time, Daniel was, apparently, unaware of the railroad cut just to the north of Stone's position. There are in fact three railroad cuts just north of the Chambersburg pike on the battlefield proper. Daniel would eventually engage Stone's men in the western cut. Part of Brigadier General Joseph Davis' brigade became trapped in the middle cut during the morning's fighting. Daniel's men would end the day in and near the eastern cut.

James J. Wills owned most of the ground Daniel had to traverse. Wills had purchased 150 acres, including 25 acres of woods, in 1859, and he employed William Job as a tenant farmer. The farmland was subdivided into fields planted in corn, wheat, and grass, and woodworm fencing separated the fields. A small orchard surrounded the farmhouse on three sides. Access to the farm in 1863 was by an unimproved lane leading east from Herr's Ridge Road. The current farm lane, running west from Buford Avenue, was constructed in the late 1880s.⁸⁴

Some of Daniel's troops would engage Federal troops on the Edward McPherson farm fields. Edward McPherson, U.S. representative from Gettysburg, owned 95 acres adjoining the south boundary of the Wills farm. By 1863, John Slentz and his family were tenants on the McPherson farm. Just over one half of the 95 acres had been planted in wheat, corn, oats, and grass. About 30 acres was in woodland and pasture. The western and middle railroad cuts were located on the McPherson property.⁸⁵

Because of Iverson's change of direction, Daniel had to "execute a corresponding change to the left." Daniel moved his entire line, except the 2nd Battalion and the 45th, "some distance by the left flank."⁸⁶

Lieutenant Colonel William G. Lewis, 43rd, reported that he halted in a lane, probably the Wills' farm lane, "when the 45th and the 2nd Battalion moved still farther forward and engaged the enemy." Lewis stated that his position "at that time was on the right of the 45th, and on the left of the 32nd Regiments."⁸⁷

In answer to his tactical problem Daniel ordered the 32nd, 45th, and 2nd Battalion forward to attack Stone's brigade. He ordered the 43rd and 53rd to attack Oak Ridge and support Iverson's right. An officer sent by Colonel C.A. Battle, 3rd Alabama, asked Daniel for orders. Battle was following previous orders from O'Neal, his brigade commander, "to move with General Daniel ... and keep upon his alignment." Daniel, being unaware that he had any responsibility over Battle, responded that he had no orders and that Battle "must act on my own responsibility." Daniel did send an officer to request that Brigadier General Joseph Davis' brigade of Hill's corps, which was "lying down in line of battle" act in conjunction with him. Davis' men, for some reason, "failed to comply" with this request.⁸⁸

Lieutenant Colonel Lewis, 43rd, reported that he was "ordered to move by the left flank to a position between the 2nd Battalion and 53rd



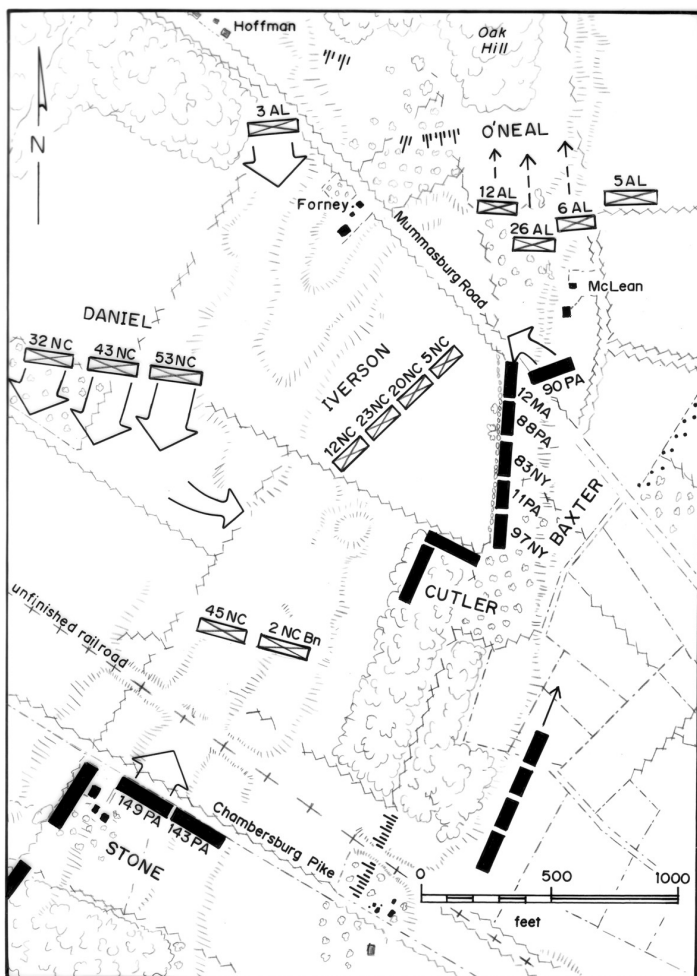
*Lt. Colonel William G. Lewis, 43rd
North Carolina. Clark, North
Carolina Regiments*

Regiment, with orders to support either on the right or left, as necessity demanded." Lewis remained in this position for some time "under a sharp cross-fire."⁸⁹

Colonel William A. Owens, 53rd, reported that he had moved forward about 200 yards "when I moved by my left flank some 300 yards under fire." Owens then moved about 50 to 100 yards to the front when he received orders to support Iverson. Owens made another flank move and came into line on the left of the 3rd Alabama, which was on Iverson's right. Owens moved to the right of the 3rd Alabama before

moving forward through a wheatfield to within 50 yards of Shead's Woods. The 3rd Alabama withdrew leaving Owens' left flank exposed. He ordered the regiment to fall back about 50 yards "it at this time being exposed to a fire on both flanks." Besides taking fire from Cutler's brigade in Shead's Woods, Owens, along with Lewis, was also taking fire from the 143rd Pennsylvania of Stone's brigade. These units were also receiving artillery fire from Battery L, 1st New York, Captain Gilbert H. Reynolds, and Battery B, 4th United States, Lieutenant James Stewart.⁹⁰

Daniel related that the 2nd Battalion and the 45th "moved forward under a murderous fire of artillery in the most gallant manner to a fence, under cover of a slight eminence." Captain Van Brown, 2nd Battalion, reported that the battalion had to advance about one and one-half miles "through open fields, and constantly exposed to a galling fire of artillery and musketry." Colonel E.C. Brabble, 32nd, wrote that at about 2:30 P.M., the regiment was on the right of the brigade and met the enemy at about 4 P.M. Brabble may not be entirely accurate in his times. Rodes probably started his attack, with Iverson and O'Neal, at about 2 P.M. with Daniel advancing shortly thereafter. As the brigade was advancing.⁹¹



1:30-2:00 P.M. Daniel engages Stone at the railroad cut.
Map by John Heiser.

Shot, shell and bullets flew thickly around, killing or wounding men at every step we advanced, but steadily the brigade moved forward with unwavering front until within close range of the enemy.⁹²

Stone met Daniel's advance by moving the 149th Pennsylvania under Lieutenant Colonel Walton Dwight, forward to the middle railroad cut, about 100 yards north of the Chambersburg pike, and opposite the Edward McPherson farm. Dwight reported that he had advanced his skirmishers about 100 paces to a rail fence. The rest of the regiment fired over the heads of the skirmish line at Daniel's men about one-third of a mile distant. The regiment was then moved to the cut and deployed in a single line with their weapons resting on the embankment.⁹³

Stone reported that Daniel's line moved to a fence "within pistol-shot" of Dwight's regiment. Dwight recounted that his "position was undiscovered by the enemy until he reached a rail fence, 22 paces in my front." There was a fence about 100 yards north of Dwight's position in the cut. Dwight ordered his men to "take deliberate aim at the knees of the front rank" and delivered "a staggering volley." Dwight's men reloaded as Daniel's men were scaling the fence. Dwight gave Daniel another volley at a range of about 30 yards. Dwight believed this fire had been "terrible" and that Daniel's men "now broke to the rear in great confusion."⁹⁴

Dwight was forced to abandon the railroad cut because of Confederate artillery fire coming from the west. Daniel, who believed he had forced Dwight to leave, now partially occupied the cut. Captain Hopkins, 45th, reported that Daniel's men "could not reap the benefit of our gallantry, as we would have done had it not been for a deep railroad cut in which about a fourth of the regiment went to the bottom." Dwight again advanced to the cut to drive Daniel's men out. Hopkins reported that the line was reformed "on the crest of a hill, where we retained our position, under a heavy fire of grape, canister, and musketry." Hopkins also wrote that during this time "the regiment suffered more than it ever did in the same length of time." Lieutenant Colonel Samuel H. Boyd, the commanding officer, was wounded. Lieutenants George F. Boyd and W. E. Harris were killed, and Captain P. P. Scales was mortally wounded. Lieutenant Samuel F. Adams, Jr. was wounded but "refused to go the rear" and "remained until the fight was over."⁹⁵

The 2nd Battalion also occupied part of the cut and the low ground to the east. Colonel Edmund L. Dana, 143rd Pennsylvania, stationed to the right of the 149th, stated that he opened fire on the 2nd Battalion "when within easy range, were received with an effective fire from our whole line, which threw them into confusion." Wharton J. Green reported that the "men in their ardor slid down the almost precipitous bank and attempted to scale the opposite, but to no effect." Green climbed to the top of the cut and "got one shot at the advancing foe."⁹⁶

Daniel reported:

At the railroad cut, which had been partially concealed by the long grass growing around it, and which, in consequence of the abruptness of its sides, was impassable, the advance was stopped. Seeing that it was impossible to advance this part of the line, and the ground affording no cover, I ordered the Forty-fifth Regiment and Second Battalion to fall back some 40 paces, to the crest of a hill, which afforded some shelter.⁹⁷



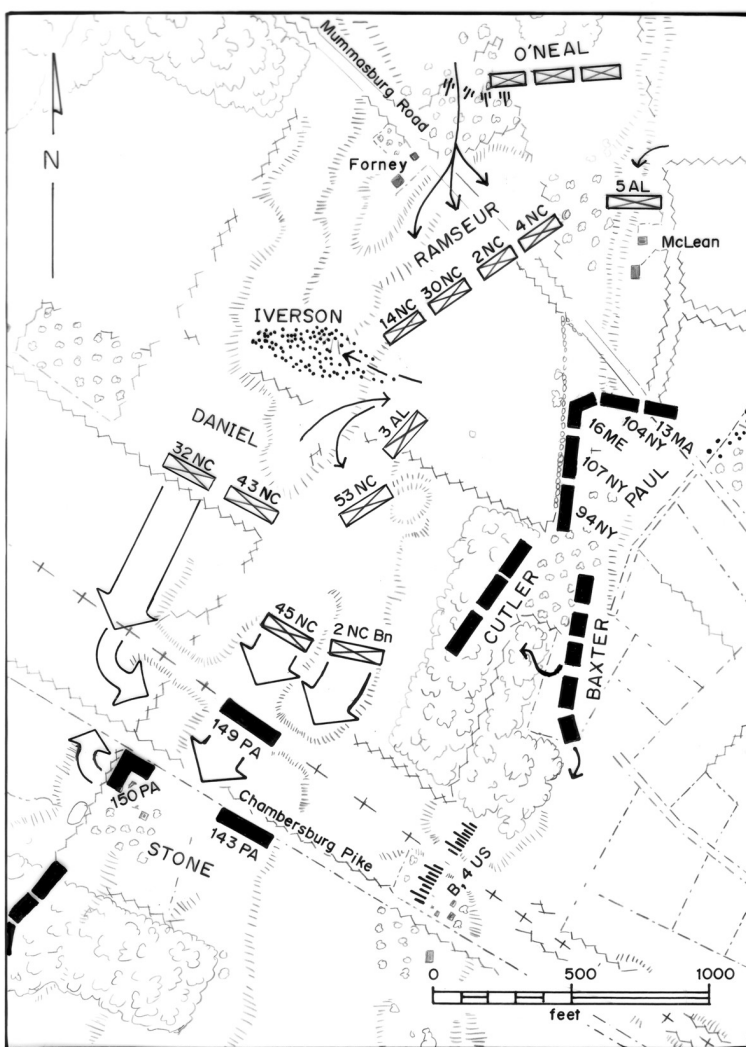
Wharton J. Green, volunteer aide-de-camp to Daniel. Wounded in the head on July 1. Clark, North Carolina Regiments

Wharton J. Green recalled, "the men who had behaved like veterans so far, became temporarily demoralized." It was now time for Daniel to demonstrate his true leadership skills. "In his stentorian tones audible in command a quarter of a mile or more away" he ordered the line to halt and reform on him. This was done "without regard to company or regimental formation." Green, while trying to help Daniel rally the men, "was knocked down by a wound in the head and had to go back to the field hospital."⁹⁸

As the brigade pulled back from the railroad cut, "the enemy poured a most deadly fire" into the 2nd Battalion. Captain Van Brown reported that the fighting along the railroad cut had been "protracted and bloody."⁹⁹

Colonel Brabble had to stop his initial advance when the 45th and 2nd Battalion withdrew from the cut. Daniel ordered Brabble to cross the railroad bed at a low level and "move forward on the right, and get a position where he could reach the flank of the enemy, posted about the [McPherson] barn and in the woods in the rear of the barn." Brabble crossed the railroad bed and began to advance when he was hit in the flank by at least part of the 150th Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvanians

advanced to a distance of about 50 yards from Brabble when "a volley was poured into the rebels, which staggered them." Before Brabble could recover from this volley, "a second one was fired." The Pennsylvanians then charged and, with help from the 149th, drove Brabble back across the railroad bed.¹⁰⁰



2:00 – 3:00 P.M. Daniel struggles to dislodge Stone from the McPherson farm. Map by John Heiser.

heavy fire." The 12th North Carolina, from Iverson's brigade, advanced on Daniel's left. The 53rd advanced to the right of the 12th. The 43rd was ordered "to swing around the right, and advance toward a battery of the enemy which was pouring a deadly fire into our flanks." The 45th was marched by a left flank "to obtain a position perpendicular to the railroad cut" and advanced toward Shead's Woods." Daniel's men succeeded in taking Oak Ridge after "severe fighting" and "with a very heavy loss."¹⁰²

Brabble advanced against Stone's line along McPherson Ridge and "moved up beyond the barn." He then waited for elements of Pender's division before advancing "near the edge of town" where it rejoined the rest of the brigade. In this final advance Brabble "took a considerable number of prisoners; how many I did not stop to ascertain."¹⁰³

Lieutenant Colonel Lewis, 43rd, advanced toward an enemy battery, probably Stewart's battery, "which was pouring a deadly fire into our flanks." Lewis drove the enemy troops "until we came to a railroad cut, which interfered a short while with our advance." He believed that 400 or 500 prisoners surrendered to the brigade. After the advance the right of the 43rd rested on the eastern cut.¹⁰⁴

Daniel now realigned his regiments for another attempt to break the Federal line. Daniel could see Federal troops strengthening their position along Oak Ridge and he considered it "necessary to carry the hill at all hazards." He ordered Brabble to again cross the cut "keeping his left on the cut and his line perpendicular to it, and to carry the battery at the barn." Daniel ordered his chief of staff, Captain Hammond, "to proceed to the left, and order all my troops to advance with the center, of which portion I had immediate command, and also to endeavor to get all the troops on my left to advance with me, as I intended to carry the hill."¹⁰¹

Daniel's men were now moving, at about 3:45 P.M., with the support of troops on their left and on their right. Brigadier General Stephen D. Ramsey's brigade, along with the remnants of O'Neal and Iverson, were renewing attacks against Oak Ridge. Major General Jubal Early's division had already launched an attack on the Federal 11th Corps line at the base of Oak Hill. At about the same time, the divisions of major generals Henry Heth and William D. Pender of Hill's corps were advancing from the west.

Daniel reported that his men "advanced in fine order, under a

confusion from the railroad cut across the hill into the outskirts of the town, where large numbers of them threw down their arms and surrendered." The battalion suffered heavily in its two advances. In the final charge Lieutenant Colonel Andrews had been killed. He had already been wounded in the hip "but continued to lead his men until struck down within a few yards of the enemy's line." At about the same time Major John M. Hancock received a wound through the breast and was carried from the field.¹⁰⁶

Among the captured officers was Major John Benton Callis of the 7th Wisconsin. Callis, originally from Fayetteville, North Carolina, had been wounded during the fighting around the Lutheran Theological Seminary and then carried across the railroad cut where he was found by a lieutenant from the 43rd North Carolina. Colonel Thomas S. Kenan ordered Callis carried back to the seminary, which was being used as a hospital. One of the men returned to Kenan with a pair of "splendid spurs" which Callis wanted presented to the colonel. Kenan wrote to Callis in 1893 that he had been invited to help mark Confederate lines during the battle and suggested the Callis meet him at that time "on a friendly historic field, when our performances will be impressed with a character different from that of 1863." In his response Callis told Kenan to keep the spurs and gave him an account of his military career after Gettysburg. Because of ill health, Callis was never able to meet Kenan at Gettysburg and died in 1897.¹⁰⁷



Colonel Thomas S. Kenan, 43rd North Carolina. Clark, North Carolina Regiments

Daniel felt it was his duty:

to make mention of the gallant conduct of my troops during this action. Their loss in killed and wounded amounted to about one-third the number that entered the fight. All acted with courage and coolness, but it fell to the lot of the Forty-fifth, Lieutenant-Colonel Boyd; Second Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews; and the Thirty-second, Colonel Brabble, to meet the heaviest efforts of the enemy. This they did in the most gallant manner, repulsing them at every advance, and finally driving them in confusion from the field."¹⁰⁸

After the Gettysburg campaign the army was encamped near Darkesville, West Virginia. Several generals met in Daniel's tent to discuss the recent campaign. Brigadier General Stephen D. Ramseur thought that the finest action he saw in the whole battle "was the conduct of that regiment that carried into the fight that flag with the white tail to it." He added, "they marched as steadily as if on dress parade, and when commanded to retreat, marched back as steadily as ever under a galling fire." Daniel pointed out that that was one of his regiments, the 32nd North Carolina.¹⁰⁹

Rodes wrote admiringly of Daniel and his brigade. Rodes noted that after Iverson's change of direction Daniel "had been left too far to his right to assist him directly." He added that Daniel's men "coming upon the enemy, strongly posted in a railroad cut, was, under its able commander's orders, thrown back skillfully, and the position of the whole brigade was altered so as to enable him to throw a portion of his force across the railroad, enfilade it, and attack to advantage." General Ewell also praised Daniel's conduct. He wrote that Daniel had to change the front of his brigade, throw part of it across the railroad cut, and "gallantly swept the field, capturing several hundred prisoners in the cut."¹¹⁰

After the fighting was over, Captain Hammond, Daniel's chief-of-staff, noticed that Daniel had "a bullet hole in the crown of his hat just above and in a direct line with the centre of his forehead." When Hammond called Daniel's attention to this narrow escape Daniel calmly stated, "Better there than an inch lower."¹¹¹

Daniel and his brigade halted at the outskirts of Gettysburg and subsequently received orders "to hold the railroad, I rested here during the night, under cover of an embankment." On the morning of July

2, Daniel moved "to the right of the railroad cut, and occupied the crest of the hill, my left resting near the cut and my right connecting with the left of General Pender's division." Colonel Brabble reported that his regiment "was posted behind the theological seminary, as a part of the support to our batteries." In this position Brabble took "a heavy fire from the enemy's artillery, and lost many men." Lieutenant Colonel Lewis reported that the Confederate batteries "were vigorously replied to, which subjected the regiment to a severe shelling, in which we lost 1 killed and several wounded very severely." Captain Hopkins reported that the 45th was on the right of the 43rd and on the left of the 32nd. The "crest of a small hill" screened his position. The 2nd Battalion took position between the 32nd and 53rd.¹¹²

O'Neal had been directed by Rodes to report to Daniel for orders. Daniel placed O'Neal "under the railroad embankment which my own brigade had occupied during the night." Daniel remained along the crest throughout the day. Colonel Owens, 53rd, was ordered to take a position to the right of O'Neal. Finding that O'Neal "would cover all the ground" Owens was directed "to take position on the right of the brigade, which was in a cornfield, and behind a section of Colonel [T.H.] Carter's battery." Owens had the discretion "to move my men, if they suffered from the enemy's fire, but to remain within supporting distance." Owens moved his regiment about 50 yards to the right and in the rear of the left flank of Brigadier General James H. Lane's brigade. Owens remained in this position until dark when he was ordered to join the right of Daniel's brigade.¹¹³

Private Louis Leon, 53rd North Carolina remembered:

Our division was in reserve until dark, but our regiment was supporting a battery all day. We lost several killed and wounded, although we had no chance to fire - only lay by a battery of artillery and be shot at. The caisson of the battery we were supporting was blown up and we got a big good sprinkling of the wood.¹¹⁴

Daniel's brigade remained along the crest of Seminary Ridge until a little after sunset. He received orders "to form in the open field in front of and below the hill, and to support General's Doles, Iverson, and Ramseur in an advance upon Cemetery Hill." Daniel, with O'Neal's brigade on his left, advanced behind Ramseur's brigade for about three-quarters of a mile when he was notified that Ramseur had halted and that "it was impracticable at that time to advance farther." Daniel halted and remained in line until about 10 P.M. when he received "orders to move back into the town, and occupy the position formerly occupied by General Ramseur, with O'Neal on my left."¹¹⁵

At about midnight, Daniel received orders to move with his own and O'Neal's brigade to the left of town and report to Major General Edward Johnson, commanding Johnson's division of Ewell's corps. Daniel moved at about 1:30 A.M. July 3, and reported to Johnson at about 4 A.M. in front of Culp's Hill.¹¹⁶

Daniel was ordered to support the brigade of Brigadier General John M. Jones. Daniel formed line of battle probably near the Christian Benner farm before crossing Rock Creek. He then had to move "through the undergrowth, among large boulders and up the heavily timbered hill." The 32nd was subjected to "a heavy artillery fire in a much exposed situation, which, however, it bore with great courage and steadiness." When he came up with Jones, Daniel found Jones' men skirmishing at long range. Culp's Hill in front of Daniel was "so strong that it could not have been carried by any force." After about two or three hours a staff officer "who had been sent to conduct me to the position it was desired I should occupy" led Daniel to the left. Daniel was to support an attack by Brigadier General George H. Steuart's brigade. During this movement Daniel's men "were much exposed, and many were killed and wounded."¹¹⁷

The 2nd Battalion was assigned to the right of the brigade and was engaged "chiefly as skirmishers." Colonel Brabble, 32nd, reported that he formed on the right of the 43rd "to hold an intrenchment that had been captured. It here lost several men, but, having the enemy at advantage, it did good execution upon him." The 43rd had been "ordered to go over the breastworks and support General Steuart." Colonel Kenan led the left wing over the breastworks but before the right wing could join it

"Steuart's brigade was repulsed and driven back." In this charge Colonel Kenan was wounded and had to taken off the field.¹¹⁸

Captain Hopkins, 45th, reported that as he arrived at the abandoned breastworks:

the enemy commenced moving from behind the first line of breastworks to the second. At that time almost every man of the regiment was firing into them as they passed the opening, certainly killing a great number. ... The fire was continued until our ammunition gave out. General Daniel being consulted, the Forty-fifth was relieved by the Thirty-second North Carolina Regiment.¹¹⁹

Major John R. Winston, 45th, although wounded, had assumed command of the regiment on July 1 when Lieutenant Colonel Boyd was wounded. Winston received a "second wound, more severe than the first" late in the engagement on July 3, which "compelled him to retire."¹²⁰

The 53rd, under Colonel Owens, fell back under cover of the hill but kept out his sharpshooters. He was ordered forward a second time and took position "just under the edge of the crest." Owens, seeing the regiments on either flank falling back, ordered the regiment "to fall back some 50 yards."¹²¹

Private Leon added more detail about this action:

This day none will forget. ... It was truly awful how fast, how very fast, did our poor boys fall by our sides. ... You could see one with his head shot off, others cut in two, then one with his brain oozing out, one with his leg off, others shot through the heart. Then you would hear some poor friend or foe crying for water, or for "God's sake" to kill him. You would see some of your comrades, shot through the leg, lying between the lines, asking his friends to take him out, but no one could get to his relief. ... In our rapid firing today my gun became so hot that the ramrod would not come out, so I shot it at the Yankees. ... I wonder if it hit a Yankee, if so, I pity him.¹²²

Daniel received orders to fall back about three-quarters of a mile and occupy a position along Rock Creek at the foot of Culp's Hill. Daniel's skirmishers were "warmly engaged, and the enemy's fire reaching and doing some execution upon our line." He remained here from 3 P.M. until almost 12 P.M. when he was ordered back into town to report to Rodes. He was assigned a position on the left of the division, which he occupied about daybreak on the morning of July 4. That night Daniel received orders "to hold myself in readiness to move." He received orders to march at between 12 and 1 P.M, July 5. He "moved off at the head of the division, taking the Fairfield road, which place we reached the middle of the afternoon the following day, and encamped some 1 1/2 miles beyond the town, upon the top of the mountain."¹²³

Daniel felt he could not do justice to the officers and men of his command:

without recording my earnest conviction that the conduct of none of the troops who participated in this engagement will furnish brighter examples of patient endurance than were exhibited by them. ... Nor was there exhibited by any portion of the command during the three days in which they were engaged any disposition to shrink from the duties before them, or any indications of that despondency with which men similarly exposed are so often affected.¹²⁴

Rodes reported that his division began to retreat from Gettysburg on the night of July 4. The division bivouacked on the night of July 5, "after a most wearisome march in mud and rain," about two miles west of Fairfield.¹²⁵

After three days of fighting at Gettysburg, Daniel's brigade reported losses of 231 men killed, 583 wounded, and 136 missing and/or captured. This amounted to almost 49 percent of Daniel's original strength. Daniel estimated that he lost about "one-third the number that entered the fight" on July 1.

Rodes reported his division's losses at 602 killed, 1,684 wounded, and 830 missing and/or captured. Rodes was forced to leave half of his wounded, almost 760 men, "in the hands of the enemy. This painful result was, of course, unavoidable."¹²⁶

Daniel sadly reported that both of his aides-de-camp, First Lieutenant W. R. Bond and Lieutenant Colonel W. J. Green, plus Lieutenant Colonel Boyd, 45th, and Major John M. Hancock, 2nd Battalion, had been severely wounded on the first day. Also on July 1, Major Henry G. Lewis, 32nd, had been wounded in the face, which resulted in a fractured chin. Major John R. Winston, 45th, had been wounded on the first day and again on July 3. Colonel Thomas S. Kenan, 43rd, was severely wounded on July 3. All of these officers "are in the hands of the enemy." Lieutenant Colonel Andrews, 2nd Battalion, had been killed on the first day.¹²⁷

Four surgeons, six assistant surgeons, three hospital stewards, and ninety-four attendants "were left to attend to the wounded, and with them ten days' supply of such food and medicines as were needed. This was all we could do for them." Among the surgeons from Daniel's brigade who remained behind were Lauriston H. Hill, 53rd; William T. Brewer, 43rd; and assistant surgeons Anthony Benning Johns, Jr., 45th; and J. Robinson Godwin, 2nd Battalion. Three chaplains, James H. Colton, 53rd; Joseph W. Murphy, 32nd; and Henry E. Brooks, 2nd Battalion also remained behind to attend to the wounded. All of these men were captured on or about July 4 or July 5 either at or between Gettysburg and Williamsport. They were all either paroled or exchanged by November 1863.¹²⁸

Rodes' division became the rear guard of the army and on the morning of July 6 was attacked by skirmishers from the 6th Army Corps, Army of the Potomac. In response, Daniel threw out skirmishers on both sides of the Fairfield road. Daniel reported that the Federal line was "a long one, extending nearly across the Valley." Captain Hopkins, with his 45th Regiment, was sent to occupy a hill to the left and front of Daniel's main line. Daniel believed the hill might be occupied by enemy artillery. Hopkins found the hill occupied by a regiment "who demanded of him a surrender, and to which demand he replied handsomely by driving them beyond the hill, with slight loss to himself, and considerable, he thinks, to the enemy." The road behind Rodes' division had been cleared for four or five miles by 3:30 P.M. The division resumed the march and "proceeded without annoyance or delay across the mountain, by Monterey Springs, to Waynesborough."¹²⁹

The division reached Hagerstown by July 7 and rested there until July 11. On that day it was positioned on the National Road about a mile and a quarter west of Hagerstown. Rodes' division occupied the extreme left of the line where "battle was again (and eagerly by my division) offered to the enemy." Daniel re-enforced his pickets on the road to Boonsborough and with aid from Brigadier General Beverly H. Roberston's cavalry helped to stop a Federal attempt to cross Antietam Creek.¹³⁰

Ewell's corps fell back to Williamsport on the evening of July 13. Rodes had sent Lieutenant Colonel Carter's artillery battalion to Falling Waters, four miles below Williamsport, with orders to cross on the pontoon bridge. The infantry, in a "perilous" operation, "waded the river just above the aqueduct over the mouth of the Conococheague." Rodes described the operation:

It was very dark, raining, and excessively muddy. The men had to wade, through the aqueduct, down the steep bank of soft and slippery mud, in which numbers lost their shoes and down which many fell. The water was cold, deep, and rising; the lights on either side of the river were dim, just affording enough light to mark the places of entrance and exit; the cartridge-boxes of the men had to be placed around their necks; some small men had to be carried over by their comrades; the water was up to the armpits of a full-sized man. All the circumstances attending this crossing combined to make it an affair not only involving great hardship, but one of great danger to the men and company officers; but be it said to the everlasting honor of these brave fellows, they encountered it not only promptly, but actually with cheers and laughter.¹³¹

Private Leon, 53rd North Carolina, also had vivid memories of this crossing:

We started our retreat at dark and marched to Williamsport, six miles, through mud and slush ankle-deep, and raining very hard. We ... crossed the Potomac at midnight, after wading through the canal, which we destroyed. The river was up to my chin, and very swift. We crossed in fours, for protection, as otherwise we could not have crossed. Our cartridge boxes we carried around our necks to keep the powder dry. ... We went six miles further, and I honestly believe some of us were asleep on our night's march than awake. But, still, all kept up, for the rear was prison. We then halted, made fire(s) to dry ourselves, just as day was breaking on the morning of the 14th.¹³²

That night Daniel made camp about a mile and a half from Falling Waters. He marched to Martinsburg the next day and arrived on July 15. He then marched to Darksville, where he remained until July 20 when he returned to Martinsburg. On July 21 he began tearing up the railroad track about two miles from town and then returned to Darksville. Because of illness, Daniel was forced to turn command of the brigade over to Colonel Brabble.¹³³

In January 1864, the 43rd North Carolina was assigned to temporary duty with Brigadier General Robert F. Hoke's brigade in a failed attempt to capture New Berne, North Carolina. The regiment did help to capture Plymouth on April 21. On May 6 Hoke received orders to return to Virginia with his brigade. About this same time Hoke received promotion to major general. Lieutenant Colonel William Gaston Lewis of the 43rd was promoted to brigadier general and placed in command of Hoke's old brigade. The brigade was reassigned to Major General Robert Ransom's division. The 43rd Regiment rejoined Daniel's brigade on May 23 at Hanover Junction, Virginia.¹³⁴

With the exception of the 43rd, the rest of Daniel's brigade participated in all of the major operations of the Army of Northern Virginia from Gettysburg to Appomattox. On February 3, 1864, Lee congratulated several units, including Daniel's brigade, for re-enlisting for the war and for "their determination to continue in arms until independence is achieved." During the fighting at Spotsylvania Court House on the morning of May 12, 1864, Daniel's brigade was moved from its position on the left of the Mule Shoe salient and ordered to advance against the right flank of the Federal-attacking column. Daniel's men succeeded in driving back this attack to the original line of defenses with the help of Ramseur's brigade and Major General John B. Gordon's division.¹³⁵

The action in and around Spotsylvania would prove costly for Daniel's brigade. Lieutenant Colonel John R. Winston, 45th, was wounded in the leg. Winston, known as a "man of deep piety, of stern integrity, and the coolest courage in battle," had been wounded and captured at Gettysburg but escaped from Johnson's Island, Ohio, "by crossing ... Lake (Erie) on the ice" in January 1864. Colonel William A. Owens, 53rd, was wounded in the side and his middle finger fractured on May 12. On May 10, Colonel Edmund C. Brabble, 32nd, was killed in action. Colonel Samuel H. Boyd, 45th, had been paroled on March 3, 1864 and returned to duty on May 17. He was killed two days later, after having already been wounded but refusing to leave the field.¹³⁶

The biggest blow to the brigade was the mortal wounding of Junius Daniel on May 12, 1864. As the 14th North Carolina, Daniel's old regiment, was going forward to help recover lost ground, he "saluted it and bade it God-speed and a worthy record." Daniel fell "at the post of duty, full of courage, inspiring the timid by his example. Doing all that mortal men could do to stem the fierce current of battle, he yielded to the cruel surgery of the sword." Daniel died the next day. When it was discovered that his wife could not reach him before his death Daniel sent a last message of love to her. He also asked that his wife provide for his servant William "who had been a faithful boy." His last thoughts were of his brigade. He inquired "how the men had acquitted themselves, and if they had suffered in the battle."¹³⁷

Junius Daniel was an educated, talented, courageous, "gallant officer" and "accomplished gentleman." His West Point training and U. S. Army experience had given him the skills and knowledge he needed to command, first, two regiments and later a brigade. This brigade he led with distinction and by personal example through the Gettysburg campaign and into the Mule Shoe Salient at Spotsylvania Court House. Daniel's skills had been recognized early in the war by some in the Confederate high

command, but probably because he had not served directly with the Army of Northern Virginia prior to Gettysburg, he had not risen as high as he might have. Daniel was known as a strict disciplinarian, but he was also mindful of the health and welfare of his men. Despite the fact that Gettysburg was the brigade's first major action, Daniel handled his brigade with great skill, courage, and discipline. General Rodes, in commenting on Daniel's action on July 1, noted that the "conduct of General Daniel and his brigade in this most desperate engagement elicited the admiration and praise of all who witnessed it."¹³⁸

The Honorable Risden Tyler Bennett, in speaking of Daniel in 1888, remembered Daniel as:

a just man, inheriting great courage; fearless of danger to himself; with a strong, vigorous, active mind in a body of most unusual soundness; "rich in saving common sense," honest in purpose, clear in his intelligence, tenacious in his will and absolutely and unhesitatingly subordinate to his superiors in rank - yielding unquestioned obedience without criticism to every order or command given with fair intelligence.¹³⁹



Notes

¹ U. S. War Department. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1885-1901). Series I, 27(2):554. [Hereafter cited as *OR*. Assumed to be Series I unless otherwise noted.]

² Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, Compiled by James L. Harrison. (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1957), 66-67. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), 1053; <J. R. J. Daniel at ancestry.com, Sims2001 shafferfam@freeport.com, 9/4/03>

³ P. T. Bennett, "General Junius Daniel," *Southern Historical Society Papers*. Edited by R.A. Brock. (Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., [1890] 1977), 18:341.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 341; George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register Of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy from 1802 to 1867* (New York: J. Miller, [1867] 1879), 3:300; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*. 2 Volumes. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903), 1:353.

⁵ August V. Kautz, *The 1865 Customs of Service for Officers of the Army*. (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, [1866] 2002), 15, 16.

⁶ Bennett, 341, 342; Cullum, 300; Heitman, 1:353; *Ibid.*, 2:401. Daniel had been recommended for promotion on December 29, 1851. The U. S. Senate approved the nomination on June 28, 1852. His nomination for promotion to first lieutenant was made to the Senate on December 22, 1857 and approved February 10, 1858, about one month after he had submitted his resignation. (See: *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U. S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774 - 1875, Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America*, 8:347, 410 and 10:273,302, <<http://memory.loc.gov>> (4 December 2003).

⁷ Bennett, 342.

⁸ Ibid., 344. The 14th North Carolina was organized on June 6, 1861 as the 4th Regiment of North Carolina Volunteers. It was redesignated the 14th by Special Orders #222, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Richmond, November 14, 1861. It was also brigaded with the 13th North Carolina and 3rd Virginia under the command of Brig. Gen. Raleigh E. Colston. Louis H. Manarin, et al., compilers, *North Carolina Troops, 1861 - 1865: A Roster*. (Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, 1966 - 2003), 5,:386. Manarin

⁹ Bennett, 343, 344; Walter Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina*. (Raleigh, NC: E. M. Uzzell, 1901), 1:710.

¹⁰ Kautz, 276-277, 296. (For a complete discussion on the duties of a regimental commander see pp. 276-317.)

¹¹ Kautz, 317, 318.

¹² Clark, 711; Janet B. Hewett, editor, *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1997), Part II, 48:616, 617; Raleigh (NC) *Weekly Standard*, July 17, 1861, 1 & 3 <<http://content.ancestry.com/1/21/04>>. On August 8 the regiment was moved to Camp Bee, later renamed Fort Bee, Isle of Wright County, Virginia. Camp Bee was so called "on account of the excellent feeling existing between Colonel Daniel and the lamented officer of that name." Hewett, 48:617. Daniel had served as a lieutenant in the 3rd U. S. at the same time that Bee was serving as the regimental adjutant. Bee had been killed in action at First Bull Run on July 21, 1861. See Heitman, 1:205.

¹³ *OR*, 2:983. Pemberton and Daniel were under the command of Brigadier General Benjamin Huger, commanding the Department of Norfolk (*OR*, 2:867). Daniel's regiment had been assigned to Pemberton's brigade a "few days" after July 9, 1861. Hewett, 60:617.

¹⁴ Bennett, 344, 345; Clark, 3:35; Manarin, 9:1. The "promising officer" was probably Thomas Stephens Kenan. Williams transferred from the 12th North Carolina Infantry on June 6, 1862. He was killed at Brandy Station on June 9, 1863. (See Clark, 2:83, 104); *OR*, 9:468. (See *OR*, 9:450,451 for Holmes' assignment to command Department of North Carolina on March 24, 1862.)

¹⁵ *OR*, 11(2):488, 913, 914; E. B. Long, *The Civil War Day by Day: An Almanac, 1861 - 1865* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1971), 234; Clarence C. Buel and Robert Underwood Johnson, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. (Secaucus, NJ: Castle, [1888] n.d.), 2:390.

¹⁶ Clark, 3:165.

¹⁷ *OR*, 9:476; *OR*, 11(3):672; *OR*, 11(2):939, 942. (See pp. 934-946 for details of this attack.); Clark, 3:4; Manarin, 10:289.

¹⁸ Clark, 4:555, 556; *OR*, 11(3):672. (Martin had been appointed a brigadier general on May 15, 1862. He resigned on July 25 and was reappointed on August 11. See Warner, 213-214.)

¹⁹ Bennett, 345.

²⁰ *OR*, 18:743, 745; Manarin, 10:289, 11:1.

²¹ Clark, 2:523; Clark, 4:516; Warner, 67; J. William Jones, editor. *Southern Historical Society Papers*, (Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., [1877] 1977), Vol. II, "Confederate Roster," 36-37.

²² Kautz, 375-376.

²³ Clark, 4:513, 516; Robert E. L. Krick, *Staff Officers in Gray: A Biographical Register of the Staff Officers in the Army of Northern Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 147.

²⁴ Clark, 4:513, 517, 518; Krick, R.E.L., 120.

²⁵ Clark, 4:513, 517; Krick, R.E.L., 65.

²⁶ Clark, 4:513; Manarin, 11:8, 107.

²⁷ Clark, 4:513, 518; Krick, R.E.L., 77; Manarin, 10:341. (After the war Bond was the author of *Pickett or Pettigrew? An Historical Essay* (Scotland Neck, NC: W. L. L. Hall, 1900).).

²⁸ *OR*, ((2):914.

²⁹ Clark, 2:524; Manarin, 9:1, 5; Robert K. Krick, *Lee's Colonels: A Biographical Register of the Field Officers of the Army of Northern Virginia*. (Dayton, OH: Morningside Bookshop, 1979), 56.

³⁰ Manarin, 9:1; Hewett, Part 2, 49:97.

³¹ Clark, 3:1, 4; Manarin, 10:289, 293; Krick, R.K., 203.

³² Clark, 3:35, 36; Manarin, 11: 1, 7; Krick, R.K., 257.

³³ Hewett, 49:254.

³⁴ Clark, 3:161-163; Manarin, 12:140, 142, 149; Krick, R.K., 92

³⁵ Manarin, 12:142, 149; Krick, R.K., 362

³⁶ Clark, 3:255; Manarin, 13:64; Krick, R.K., 272.

³⁷ Clark, 4:243-252; Manarin, 3:259.

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- ³⁸ Clark, 4:243-244, 513; Manarin, 3:264; Krick, R.K., 150; Krick, R.E.L., 142; James L. Harrison, compiler, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774 - 1949*. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), 1234. Green attended West Point but did not graduate.
- ³⁹ Manarin, 3:264; Krick, R.K., 317.
- ⁴⁰ *OR*, 18:20-31,447; 19(2):694.
- ⁴¹ *OR*, 18:107, 802, 807; Manarin, 10:289, 9:1, 13:4. (See also John G. Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 139.)
- ⁴² Manarin, 10:289, 11:1, 13:4; Clark, 3:4.
- ⁴³ Manarin, 9:1, 12:142, 3:259; Clark, 2:523, 3:170; *OR*, 18:816, 865.
- ⁴⁴ *OR*, 18:3, 872, 894; Hewett, Part 1, 3:403-404.
- ⁴⁵ *OR*, 18:159, 162-164.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 160-161. Col. J. Richter Jones, 58th PA, also felt that his movement "effected nothing beyond driving back some of the enemy's posts and accustoming our men to *la petite guerre*. As to capturing their men, that will be difficult while they hold the line of Core Creek and impose on us the necessity of forcing a passage every time we cross."
- ⁴⁷ *OR*, 18:3, 183-196; Manarin, 12:142. The Federal reports, again, have a slightly different version of these events. Three Massachusetts regiments had been sent to Deep Gully on March 13. The next morning these regiments began an attack on Daniel's position, but just as the skirmishers started to advance orders were received to retire to New Bern leaving one regiment "to hold the enemy in check." *OR*, 18:186.
- ⁴⁸ *OR*, 18:944-945; Clark, 4:302; Manarin, 2:584.
- ⁴⁹ *OR*, 18:951. For Federal reports on the Siege of Washington, see *OR*, 18:211-254. Brigadier General Robert Ransom, Jr., is the only Confederate officer with a published official report. (See *OR*, 18:255.) Hill had to abandon the siege when Foster succeeded in getting two schooners and the steam-transport *Escort* into the town with ammunition and commissary stores. *OR*, 18:215, 1007.
- ⁵⁰ Krick, R.E.L., 147; Clark, 4:513. Although these sources do not give a specific date for when Hammond rejoined the brigade, it is obvious from the *Official Records* that Hammond was present at Gettysburg.
- ⁵¹ *OR*, 18:1050, 1053.
- ⁵² *OR*, 18:1057. General Cooke was probably Brigadier General John Rogers Cooke, formerly colonel of the 27th North Carolina Infantry (see Warner, 61).
- ⁵³ *OR*, 18:1062, 25(2):813.
- ⁵⁴ *OR*, 27(2):287; John W. Busey and David G. Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg* (Hightstown, NJ: Longstreet House, 1986), 288. Daniel's brigade ranked behind Pettigrew (2584), Davis (2305), and Kershaw (2183) (Busey and Martin, 281, 290).
- ⁵⁵ *Manarin*, 12:143; Krick, R.K., 317; *Manarin*, 3:264.
- ⁵⁶ *OR*, 27(2):564; Busey and Martin, 288.
- ⁵⁷ *OR*, 27(2):565. See also Rodes' report, *OR*, 27(2):545-546. Two small regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and one battery had occupied Berryville, all under the command of Colonel Andrew T. McReynolds (*OR*, 27(2):547).
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 565, 549.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 551, 565.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 550.
- ⁶¹ *Manarin*, 3:264; Krick, R.K., 31.
- ⁶² *OR*, 27(2):565-566; *Manarin*, 13:13.
- ⁶³ *Manarin*, 11:7; Krick, R.K., 55, 257.
- ⁶⁴ Clark, 2:525-526; *OR*, 27(2):551. Ewell also reported, "Agreeably to the views of the general commanding, I did not burn Carlisle Barracks" (*OR*, 27(2):443).
- ⁶⁵ *Manarin*, 13:13.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ *OR*, 27(2):551.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 552.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 552; Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg: The First Day* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 150, gives a slightly different order of march. See also H. L. Scott, *Military Dictionary* (Denver, CO: Fort Yuma Press, [1864] 1984), 402-403. The average marching time on a good road, with the trains, was about two miles an hour.
- ⁷⁰ *OR*, 27(2):444, 552.

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- ⁷¹ Pfanz, 151; *OR*, 27(2):552.
- ⁷² *OR*, 27(2):552.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 566; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 18:346.
- ⁷⁴ John B. Bachelder Troop Position Map, Day 1.
- ⁷⁵ *OR*, 27(2):552, 602; Pfanz, 180; Clark, 4:255.
- ⁷⁶ *Hewett*, 60:325.
- ⁷⁷ *OR*, 27(2):552.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 553.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 553, 592.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 553.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 553, 592, 593.
- ⁸² *Ibid.*, 579; Iverson's brigade lost approximately 903 men, 82.9 percent, of the 1,384 who entered the battle. The 23rd North Carolina lost 282 of 316, 89.2 percent. This was the highest percentage loss for any Confederate brigade in the battle and the second highest percentage loss of any Confederate regiment. (See Busey & Martin, 298, 309.)
- ⁸³ Pfanz, 180; *OR*, 27(2):566, 574, 573, 577.
- ⁸⁴ Patrick W. O'Bannon, et al., *A Cultural Landscape Study of the James J. Wills Farm, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania* (West Chester, PA: John Milner Associates, Inc., 1988), 7, 9, 11, 22, 23.
- ⁸⁵ Kathleen R. George, *Edward McPherson Farm: Historical Study* (Gettysburg, PA: National Park Service, 1977), 11, 18, 20. McPherson served in the U. S. Congress from 1859 to 1863. He lost reelection in November 1862. He then served for a number of years as the chief clerk of the House of Representatives.
- ⁸⁶ *OR*, 27(2):566.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 573.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 566, 567, 595. See also Ewell's report, *OR*, 27(2):445-445.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 573.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 576; *OR*, 27(1):335.
- ⁹¹ *OR*, 27(2):566, 571, 578.
- ⁹² *Hewett*, 60:323.
- ⁹³ *OR*, 27(1):342.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 330, 342.
- ⁹⁵ *OR*, 27(1):343, 27(2):575.
- ⁹⁶ Clark, 4:255, 256; *OR*, 27(1):335.
- ⁹⁷ *OR*, 27(2):567.
- ⁹⁸ *OR*, 27(2):255; Clark, 4:256.
- ⁹⁹ *Hewett*, 60:323; *OR*, 27(2):570, 578.
- ¹⁰⁰ *OR*, 27(1):332-333, 346; *OR*, 27(2):566, 572. Brabble also reported "the right supported by a regiment of Davis' brigade" (*OR*, 27(2):371).
- ¹⁰¹ *OR*, 27(2):567.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 567, 573, 575, 576.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 572.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 573; Clark, 3:6.
- ¹⁰⁵ *OR*, 27(2):575.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 576, 578.
- ¹⁰⁷ Clark, 5:611-616; *Brevet Brigadier Generals in Blue* (Gaithersburg, MD: Olde Soldier Bookshop, 1990), 95.
- ¹⁰⁸ *OR*, 27(2):567, 568.
- ¹⁰⁹ Clark, 2:526.
- ¹¹⁰ *OR*, 27(2):445, 554.
- ¹¹¹ Bennett, 346.
- ¹¹² *OR*, 27(2):568, 572, 573, 575, 578. Rodes also noted that "Daniel's brigade, which had been early in the morning moved by my order so as to connect with Pender's division, on the crest of the ridge before spoken of, was subjected to a galling artillery fire, especially in the afternoon" (*OR*, 27(2):555).
- ¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 568, 576, 577.
- ¹¹⁴ *Manarin*, 13:16.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 568, 573, 575, 577.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 568, 572, 573, 575, 577, 578.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 68; Clark, 3:6. The Christian Benner farm was located just east of Rock Creek and at the base of Benner's Hill.

¹¹⁸ OR, 27(2):572, 573, 578.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 575.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 569, 570.

¹²¹ Ibid., 577.

¹²² Clark, 13:17.

¹²³ OR, 27(2):570.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 569.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 558.

¹²⁶ Busey and Martin, 288; OR, 27(2):557, 567. Daniel's brigade hospital was apparently located at the Jacob Plank farm just west of the Black Horse Tavern on the Fairfield road, and across from the Christian Byers Farm. See Gregory A. Coco, *A Vast Sea of Misery: A History and Guide to the Union and Confederate Hospitals at Gettysburg, July 1 - November 20, 1863* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1988), 153.

¹²⁷ OR, 27(2):569, 570. These officers had probably been captured on July 5 at or near Smithsburg, Maryland. See OR, Series II, 6: 450. Bond was released from Fort Delaware in June 1865, and Green was exchanged in March 1865. See Krick, *R.E.L.*, 77, 142. Colonel Kenan, 43rd North Carolina, was paroled on an unspecified date but was received at Cox's Landing, James River, Virginia, on March 22, 1865, for exchange. He was paroled at Charlotte, North Carolina on May 12, 1865. See *Manarin*, 10:293. Major Lewis was captured in the hospital at Gettysburg on or about July 5. He was moved to Johnson's Island, Ohio on August 2. While in prison he was promoted to lieutenant colonel on May 10, 1864. He was transferred to Point Lookout, Maryland on March 21, 1865 and later transferred to Fort Delaware on April 28, where he took the oath of allegiance on July 24. See *Manarin*, 9:6. Major Winston, 45th North Carolina, was hospitalized at Fort McHenry before being transferred to Johnson's Island, Ohio, on September 28, 1863. See *Manarin*, 11:7. Major Hancock, 2nd North Carolina Battalion, was confined in a hospital in Frederick, Maryland before being transferred to Baltimore on August 10, 1863. He was removed to Johnson's Island, Ohio, on September 29, 1863 and remained until paroled and sent to Point Lookout, Maryland, March 14, 1865. He was received in exchange at Cox's Landing, James River, Virginia on March 22. See *Manarin*, 3:264.

¹²⁸ OR, 27(2), 557; *Manarin*, 3:265, 9:6, 10:2293, 11:9, 13:65. General Orders #100, from the U. S. War Department, dated April 24, 1863, states, "The enemy's chaplains, officers of the medical staff, apothecaries, hospital nurses, and servants, if they fall into the hands of the American Army, are not prisoners of war, unless the commander has reasons to retain them. In this later case, or if, at their own desire, they are allowed to remain with their captured companions, they are treated as prisoners of war, and may be exchanged if the commander sees fit." (OR, Series III, 3:154.)

¹²⁹ OR, 27(2):558, 570, 576.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 558, 571.

¹³¹ Ibid., 558, 559.

¹³² *Manarin*, 13:18.

¹³³ OR, 27(2):571.

¹³⁴ *Manarin*, 10: 291, 293.

¹³⁵ OR, 33:1144-1145. See also Daniel's report on the Mine Run Campaign, OR, 29(1), 879-880.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 9:5; 11:7; Krick, *R.K.*, 55, 56, 272. Owens returned to duty prior to July 18, 1864 and was "shot through the bowels" at Snicker's Ferry, Virginia on July 18 and died the next day. See *Manarin*, 13:64. Winston, promoted to colonel on May 19, returned to duty before September 1, 1864. He was present or accounted for until the surrender at Appomattox. See *Manarin*, 11:7.

¹³⁷ Bennett, 346, 347.

¹³⁸ Raleigh (NC) *Weekly Standard*, May 25, 1864 <<http://content.ancestry.com> 1/21/04>; OR, 27(2):554.

¹³⁹ Bennett, 346, 347. Risden Tyler Bennett was born in Wadesboro, Anson County, North Carolina on June 18, 1840. He graduated from Cumberland University in Tennessee and became a lawyer. He served as a corporal in the 14th North Carolina before being promoted to captain, serving as the assistant commissary of subsistence, on September 28, 1861 while Daniel was the commanding officer. He was promoted to colonel on July 5, 1862 and was wounded three times. In the post-war years he was a judge on the North Carolina Superior Court and served two terms in the U. S. House of Representatives (March 4, 1883 - March 3, 1887). See: *Manarin*, 5:393; Krick, *R.K.*, 45; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* [City:Publisher, Date], 841.